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much laughter. He was quite courteous to me when I visited him, but difficult to engage in conversation, and very chary of his words.

Every hamlet contains one or more huts set apart for the exclusive use of the men and boys (*tobăr*). In the Bougainville villages these must be used by the boys wearing the *upi* (headgear indicating that they have not finished their puberty ceremonies, see Ch. VI), who are prohibited from entering any hut occupied by a woman. In Buka, where the boys do not wear the *upi*, their segregation is less rigid, but they may sleep in the 'men's house' if they wish. In both districts unattached men usually sleep there, and male guests from other villages are accommodated there if their visit extends overnight. The men say that this is a good idea because it prevents the visitors from meddling with the village women. These huts do not differ in any respect from the others (see Pl. 30 *b*). They vary in size according to the number of people likely to use them. There seems to be no fixed situation assigned to them in relation to the other huts of the village. In some hamlets they stand in line with the others, in some they are off to one side a little. In other places they occupy part of the ground in front of the line, if this can be arranged without encroaching too much upon the space needed for dancing. Any hut occupied by a man living alone, e.g. an old widower, may be used to house some of the boys if occasion requires. Where the *tobăr* is in the middle of the village, it serves as a gathering-place for the men in their idle moments. Where it stands apart, the men tend to congregate in the front portion of the hut belonging to the *tsunaun* (chief), which has a kind of porch attached to it.

Most villages are fenced except where they face the shore. In the beach villages the fence is made of stones and chunks of coral rock, in the cliff villages of saplings put in green and left to grow. It does not seem to be a survival of an old stockade, but a recent innovation, erected at the instance of the Government with the idea of keeping the pigs away from the dwellings, but as it is always full of gaps, either due to neglect or left intentionally to facilitate entrance and exit, in most cases it fails to function. On the outskirts are planted banana, bread-fruit, and other useful trees. Coco-nuts are not liked in close proximity to the huts, as the heavy nuts are apt to do damage in falling. At some place convenient for launching, there will be one or more sheds for

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Certain groups joined together against a common enemy, and asked one *tsunaun* to lead them all. Something of this extended authority, in a very attenuated condition, still survives. Pinari claimed a vague allegiance from the people of Timputs and Baniu, and said that before the time of the white man his lineage held sway over all the people living along the north coast of Bougainville and some of those of Buka. Pinari had a love of power and a somewhat exaggerated sense of his own importance, and detailed investigation in the area involved might have led to a modification of his statements, but there is no doubt that he had at one time been a *tsunaun* of considerable importance. He claimed that in the olden days his consent had to be asked before a fighting expedition was embarked upon: if he gave it, those who made the request had to pay him a length of ceremonial currency, if he refused it the project would be abandoned. The *tsunaun* was supposed to go to fight with his own people and to keep them together and prevent them from fighting among themselves. If he gave orders which were not obeyed, some of his followers would kill the offenders.

Exactly what the powers of the *tsunaun* were in the olden days it is now very difficult, and perhaps impossible, to ascertain. The whole position has been fundamentally altered by the new system introduced by the Germans and continued by the present Government. An official, called the 'kukerai',[1] is appointed for each village, or group of hamlets, who is responsible to the District Officer for the good behaviour of the villagers, but whose right to punish is limited to the imposition of a fine and, if that is ineffective, making a report to the D.O. He wears an official cap and is presented with a staff as a badge of office. He has under him a subordinate officer, called the 'tultul', who is usually chosen because of his ability to speak pidgin-English, so that he can act as interpreter between the natives and the government officials. In appointing the kukerai, inquiries are made of the natives as to the persons they consider of importance, and if possible some one who is *tsunaun* is chosen, when his position as a government official is materially strengthened by the fact that his authority is already recognized in the village. But in some instances the *tsunaun* is either unwilling to take office under the white man, or is

[1] This word is said to belong to a New Britain dialect and to mean 'one who judges'.

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considered by the D.O. to be unsuitable by reason of his age, degree of intelligence, or on other grounds. Some other man is then chosen at the discretion of the D.O., and though the natives are obliged to acknowledge him, he continues to rank, in their estimation, as a commoner, and his position is not an easy one, unless he is friendly with the hereditary head of the group. In the village of Tabut, the *tsunaun*, Karabun, refused to be kukerai, but Wasang, the man appointed, was his great friend, and they worked harmoniously together. But when I was collecting genealogies at Tabut, it was emphasized that Karabun and his mother, Tsonkaisa, were the people of importance in that village, and that Wasang was 'a nobody'. In case of actual hostility between the hereditary *tsunaun* and the government-appointed kukerai, the position of the latter, though unassailable, would be far from enviable. The possibility was admitted and discussed, but no instances of it came under my personal observation.

It seems likely that the elective and purely local office of kukerai will, in course of time, entirely supersede the hereditary *tsunaun*, who is primarily, though not exclusively, entitled to allegiance from his own clan. An instance showing that this process is already beginning may be cited from my records. Pinari, *tsunaun* of the Nakarib clan, was appointed kukerai of the village at which he lived, called Gomen. Siani, the *tsunaun* of the Naboin clan, residing at the village of Kurtatchi, about a quarter of a mile away, had been offered the official cap as kukerai of Kurtatchi, but had refused it, saying that he was content to be subordinate to Pinari as kukerai of both villages. He subsequently went off to work as an indentured labourer, returning towards the close of my visit. He now lives at Kurtatchi as an ordinary villager, and takes no part in the conduct of its affairs.

As a result of this substitution of the government-controlled jurisdiction of the kukerai for the traditional jurisdiction of the *tsunaun*, and with the passing of warfare, in which the powers and rights of the *tsunaun* were most clearly apparent, the original state of affairs has become so difficult to disentangle that I am not able to give a clear account of the exact position occupied by the *tsunaun* of the olden days. It is certain that he possessed the power of life and death over those under his jurisdiction, but I have no very clear evidence as to whether he exercised it entirely alone, or how much he conferred, in this and other matters of importance,

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614 with other *tsunaun* or with the old men of the group. A good deal seems always to have depended on personal character. Although
●622 the fact of being *tsunaun* was determined by heredity, and was
565 inalienable, certain people are remembered, while others are forgotten, and it is natural that the man of strong personality would exercise authority far exceeding that of a *tsunaun* who was weak or indolent.

Pinari, in his dual capacity of *tsunaun* and kukerai, claimed as much authority as he dared, and bitterly regretted that the rule of the white man had deprived him of the power of life and death. He adjudicated on disputed questions of all kinds, claimed to have a say in the marriages of the people under his jurisdiction, and arranged for the holding of all important ceremonies. He did, occasionally, confer with the other men of the community, but he resented advice or criticism, unless it was offered with a considerable amount of tact. But he showed great respect for his two sisters, the only kinsfolk of his own generation still living, and sometimes even asked their advice. All three possessed a certain dignity of bearing and carriage that in itself showed that they were conscious of their position.

554 At the present time, the distinction between *tsunaun* and com-
565 moners is still marked by the very apparent deference which is paid by commoners to all people who are *tsunaun*. This was evident both from the respect paid to them in their presence and from the tone in which every one referred to them when speaking to me or among themselves, though there were some who dared to criticize Pinari—behind his back. But the most obvious difference consists of the way in which every event in the life of those who are *tsunaun* is marked by elaborate ceremonial procedure which is either absent, or much modified, in the case of commoners. This applies not only to major events such as birth, marriage, and death, but also to such minor landmarks as the first time the baby is carried on his mother's pack (see p. 189), the first time a girl goes to the bush to collect areca-palm spathes, and so on. With the abandonment of native ritual in consequence of contact with the white man, this last remaining distinction will shortly disappear, as it has already done, to all intents and purposes, at Petats.

The ceremonies attendant upon the life of a *tsunaun* will be described in their appropriate context. Apart from such occasions, people who are *tsunaun* live, and, it would appear, always have

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on the ground near the door of the man's hut at night. The man walks over it, then this man picks it up and puts it in the fire. Then the man dies, he has no sickness, he dies quickly. He does not lie down even for one day, he is not ill even for one night, he talks, he walks about, he is quite well, then he just dies, that 's all.' A death of this kind is called *wasō*.

A different method of 'making poison', obtained from another informant, runs as follows: 'Take the plant *korowin* (a shrub, unidentified) and burn the stem in the fire. Then put some of the buds up in the rafters of the man's house. As they dry, the man will waste away till he is nothing but skin and bone. When you want him to die, burn the buds. But if you are sorry for him by and by, and want him to get better, throw the buds away.'

In the nature of things, I could not verify or check these pieces of information, which were given to me in confidence, and it is not impossible that the vital part of the procedure was withheld; I give them, therefore, without guarantee, for what they may be worth.

In some cases it is supposed that actual poison is mixed with the food. Pinari, as *tsunaun tʃan* by right of inheritance, and paramount chief of the district by Government appointment, considers himself to be in very special danger of poison, of which he is obviously in great and constant dread. He told me that when he goes up into the mountainous hinterland he likes to eat only in one place, with a man whom he knows to be his friend. If this is impossible, he takes men with him who keep a sharp look-out and always eat with him. Another instance, said to have occurred shortly before my visit, was related to me. A man named Tatowan went to a neighbouring village, not too friendly to Kurtatchi, and ate some pig there. He returned home, but next day he died *wasō*. His death was said to have been caused by 'bad lime' given him at the meal.

The people say that a number of different kinds of leaves and roots that grow in the bush are used for 'making poison'. But no one would confess to knowing which they were or bring me any specimens, with the one exception noted in a previous paragraph. This behaviour was in marked contrast to the helpful interest they displayed in my investigations into plants used in making other kinds of 'medicine', for which they willingly scoured the bush. While it is possible that some of the plants may actually be poisonous, it is

no one to regard their people as exceedingly cruel for this reason. The Christian Samoans have been waging war among themselves almost continually for years, and even if they do not eat their prisoners of war, they do cut off their heads; despite this they have the reputation of being a kind and good-natured people. When our German government acquired colonies in the Western Pacific, it was certainly an extremely good move to include the northwestern Solomon Islands in the realm of the new colony. Specifically the natives of these islands have, up until now, turned out well as members of the small defensive army in the Bismarck Archipelago. Just as they have proven themselves loyal and reliable as plantation workers, they have also often won the praise of their leaders on the frequently very laborious and dangerous expeditions against natives in the archipelago.

Tribal Government

As is the case everywhere in the Solomon Islands, the honor of being chieftain is hereditary. The oldest son is not always his father's successor; if the father has several sons, he names one as his heir, as a rule to be sure, the eldest.

Every village has its own chieftain who, strictly speaking, rules his own little realm himself; however, weaker chieftains frequently ally themselves with neighboring chieftains in an offensive and defensive alliance against neighboring enemies. Chieftains who have at their command a large number of warriors not infrequently compel weaker neighboring chieftains into a sort of vassalage, but the weaker one's duties seem to consist solely in accompanying the stronger one on war expeditions and supporting him with his men; in return he can always count on the protection of the stronger chieftain. The deceased Gorai in Shortland had established such an extended vassalage, which comprised the southern half of Bougainville, all the islands of the Bougainville Strait, and the north end of Choiseul. He was looked upon as the reigning chieftain, and no one dared to undertake anything against his will. After Gorai's death this league disintegrated, and since the deceased was a prudent man and very favorably disposed towards the whites, the peaceful conditions created by him are in danger of gradual collapse. On Buka the tribes around Carola Harbor and the opposite east coast of Hanahan are allied against those on the island's north cape and on the mountainous south end of Zoloss. In Bougainville exactly the same sort

the children accompany the mother. In south Bougainville and on the islands of the Bougainville Strait the wife of the deceased remains in the community; frequently the dead man's brother marries the widow; but if he is not so inclined or is already sufficiently provided with wives, the widow can marry another native if he pays the dead man's brother the customary purchase price.

[8] The chieftains normally have several wives; the number varies from five to fifty and even more. The common people have one, two or three wives, but rarely more. Male slaves may not marry.

The women are treated relatively well; to be sure, they have to do a great part of the field work, but they are not slaves to the same extent as on the other Solomon Islands. Also their morality is on a far higher plane than elsewhere in the group. Promiscuous intercourse among unwedded people does not take place to the extent that it does, for example, on St. Christoval and on Guadalcanar; strict propriety is insisted upon in marriage. The wives frequently have a decisive influence on the conduct of their husbands, and I have often had occasion to observe that once you are on good terms with the wives, the husbands regulate their behavior accordingly. Gifts distributed to a few old women often have better success than all arts of persuasion. The chieftain's wives have an even better life; many of them do nothing at all; they keep their husb and company when he is at home and do various kinds of handwork. Some see to it that the plantations always supply the requisite amount of foodstuffs, but only when the husband condescends to work in the plantation with his own hands do all of his better halves accompany him. When he goes on war expeditions the whole group stays at home under the surveillance of a few of the older men who are unfit for battle. One of the chieftain's wives is designated as chief wife, and her male children are the actual heirs of the chieftain. When individual communities live on islands too small to support plantations and produce the needed amount of food, it is the wives' job to keep up market trade with the wealthier neighboring districts. Early in the morning you can see them going to the market in large and small boats, usually accompanied by an older man who probably has the duty of supervisor, since a single old man is scarcely able to provide any sort of effective protection in case of an enemy attack.